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ABSTRACT

A study in five schools investigated issues in the integration of language-minority students from bilingual education classes and native English-speaking students in academic subject area classes. Participating teachers, six grade-level teachers and six bilingual teachers, the latter selected for their experience with transitional bilingual education, were interviewed four times and observed in class once a week over 2-4 months. Together they represented five integration approaches, four based on existing transitional bilingual education (TBE) and one a two-way bilingual program. The TBE-based approaches included: (1) two self-contained classrooms (one bilingual, one monolingual) with movement between classrooms for academic instruction; (2) two self-contained classrooms with movement between classes for academic subjects and a second-language component; (3) team-teaching (bilingual and monolingual) of students physically in the same classroom, with the second language used as a support language by the bilingual teacher; and (4) team-teaching in one classroom with a second language instruction component. A variety of grade levels and languages are represented in the six classrooms. Each situation is examined, and characteristics of an integrated school are derived from the six situations. Contains 34 references. (MSE)

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INTEGRATION: WHAT DOES IT MEAN FOR LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENTS?

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Paper presented at the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) Conference, Orlando, Florida
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INTEGRATION:

WHAT DOES IT MEAN FOR LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENTS?

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The question of integration formed the basis for a qualitative study of classrooms where grade level and bilingual teachers had brought together language minority and language majority students for academic subject matter. The goal of the study was to identify the issues that arose as the result of such integration from the teachers' perspective and the conditions under which integration would be successful in meeting its goals. Before sharing some of the findings of this research, this paper will first address the relationship between integration and language minority education.

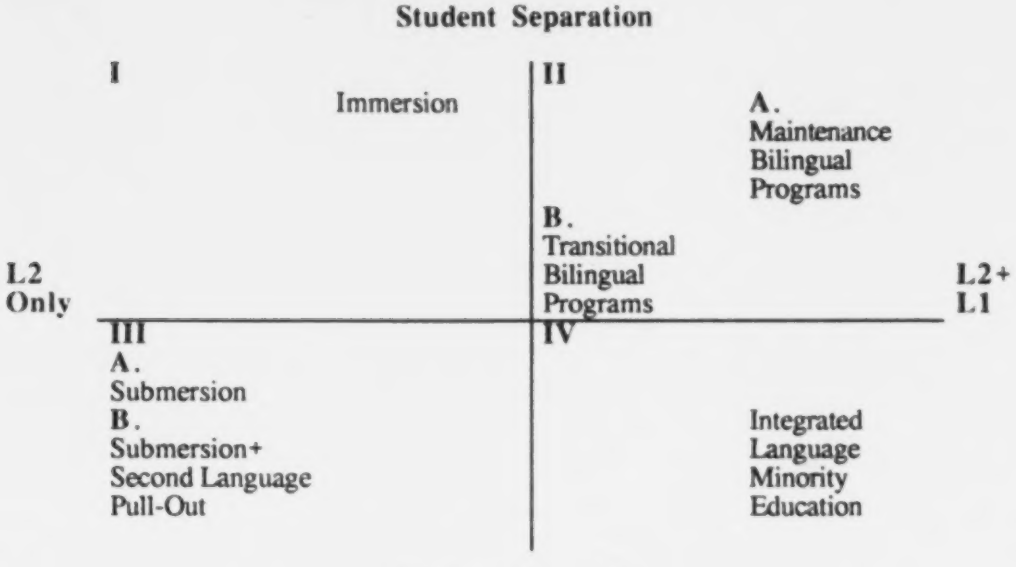
1. Integration and Language Minority Education

Integration, in its broadest sense, refers to bringing different parts together on an equal basis to make a whole (Brisk, 1991). When applied to schools, it refers to the process of making the educational needs and the schooling of language minority students an integral part of the school. The word "integral" is key: an integrated approach strives to avoid the systematic segregation of their schooling, but not at the cost of ignoring their cultural and linguistic background when making pedagogical decisions. The concern with integration stems from the observation that the current definition of language minority education reinforces its marginalization in schools. This marginalization negatively influences the quality of language minority education.

1.1 The Marginalization of Language Minority Education

The most common services for language minority students display three common characteristics. First, services are defined as separate services targeted only at language minority students. Second, these services have primarily been defined as language services, that is they focus on teaching a second language. Some programs use the students' first language in achieving this goal (bilingual programs), others only use the second language (immersion programs). Finally, these programs are compensatory and temporary in nature, implemented with the expectation that adequate intervention can and will occur within the confines of the special program. Figure 1 illustrates the most commonly implemented programs to meet the needs of language minority students, looking at the extent to which the first language is included for instruction and the extent to which the language minority students' schooling is separated from that of language majority students.

Figure 1. Programs for language minority students



The definition of language minority education as separate, language-oriented, and compensatory programs for language minority students has resulted in a dual system of schooling in many schools. The establishment of a special program hands the responsibility for language minority students over to the specialist and is easily used as an excuse by grade level teachers to reject responsibility for and engagement in the language minority student's schooling process. Any special instructional strategies for teaching language or content and the incorporation of the students' linguistic and cultural background into the curriculum are seen as belonging in the special program, but not necessarily in the grade level classroom. (This, incidentally, also assumes that language minority students who have not been identified as limited English proficient do not need additional support.) A former teacher in a transitional bilingual education (TBE) program in Massachusetts described their position as follows:

> ...the students are treated like second class citizens and don't really belong. . . . Little things would give those messages, a performance would be happening for second grade classes and only regular second grade classes would get the announcement and not the TBE second grade classes. Second grade would plan a fieldtrip that didn't include the TBE classes. ... It was just constantly those messages, you don't count, you're not up to par, you're not one of us. To me and to kids.

In other words, the dual system that results from the current definition of language minority education is characterized by a lack of ownership, reflected in program isolation, professional and social teacher isolation, and students' academic and social segregation (De Jong, 1995).

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1.2 Integrated Language Minority Education

As Figure 1 illustrates, only three of the four possible quadrants have been explored for educating language minority students. Integration has often resulted in submersion and assimilation (Quadrant III), whereas other programs have systematically separated students without integration (Quadrant I and II). Neither assimilation nor separation, however, will provide an adequate model for academic success for language minority students. Proponents of an integrated approach argue that, if students are to be academically well-prepared when they graduate and are to live in a diverse society, language minority education must bring minority and majority students together within a context that values bilingualism and has high academic expectations for all students. This assertion is supported by research on effective language minority education, on bilingualism and second language learning, and on the acculturation process.

The importance of including language minority education at the school level is supported by studies by Carter and Chatfield (1986), Lucas and others (1990). Carter and Chatfield suggest that the effectiveness of bilingual program is highly dependent on being part of an effective school environment that has high expectations for all its students. They point out that

> Lauderbach is an effective school with an effective bilingual program. The bilingual program is not a separate part of the school but rather participates in, partakes of, and contributes to the positive student and educational climate outcomes (Carter and Chatfield, 1986, p.226).

Making the language minority students language and culture an integral part of the school environment and curriculum is a practice that is also widely supported in the research on effective bilingual programs (Mace Matluck, 1990). The students' native language has been shown to be important for providing them continuous cognitive and linguistic development as well as in maintaining meaningful links with the community and the home (Cummins, 1991; Dolson, 1985; Wong Fillmore, 1991b). Moreover, high levels of language proficiency in both languages has been shown to have (meta-) cognitive advantages for bilingual individuals (Hakuta, 1986; Lindholm, 1991). Besides full access to their first language, language minority students also need optimal access to the language of the larger society. Research on second language acquisition suggests that second language learning opportunities are most optimal in meaningful, language-rich contexts in which language minority students interact with native peer and adult models of the target language (Pica, 1994; Long and Porter, 1985; Varonis and Gass, 1984; Genesee, 1991; Wong Fillmore, 1991a). The process is further facilitated when students do not feel threatened in their own language as they are acquiring the second language (Garcia, 1991).

Research also indicates that a successful cultural integration process allows students to maintain their cultural links with their home and community while introducing and exposing them to the culture of the host society (Phinney, 1992). This means that the students' cultural background is incorporated into the curriculum, a factor repeatedly found in effective bilingual programs (Tikunoff and Vasquez-Faria, 1982). It also implies that language minority students are exposed to and interact with members of the dominant culture (Brisk, 1993). Sociocultural integration will depend on the extent to which language minority students develop positive social relationships with language majority students and vice versa (Allport, 1954; Slavin, 1985).

Based on these studies it becomes clear that the concept of integration shapes quality language minority education at several levels: integration of the program at the school level (including the integration of teachers through collaboration), the integration of curriculum goals and expectations, and the integration of students for academic and social purposes. Schools need to develop school-wide approaches that target the individual needs of language minority and

language majority students, and that maintain bilingual/bicultural instruction throughout a student's school career (Brisk and De Jong, 1994).

There are few approaches that currently exist that implement such an approach on a larger scale. Brisk (1991) describes an integration project between a grade level and a TBE classroom that was successful for teachers and students. A more widely implemented alternative is provided by two-way bilingual programs. These programs integrate language minority and language majority students and aim at bilingualism for all students. Two-way programs have the potential of avoiding the negative effects of assimilation and segregation: students in two-way programs are taught together; the native language of language minority students is used for academic learning and is maintained throughout the program; and minority teachers can serve as positive models. The model allows for natural and extensive exposure to the dominant language, while at the same time giving the minority language a high status in the school. In addition, the integrated activities can enhance cross-cultural attitudes (Glenn and LaLyre, 1991). Evaluations of these programs tend to be positive for first and second language development and math (Lindholm and Alclan, 1991). Little is known about other options and, more importantly, about the realities of such integrated settings. The goal of this study was to address this gap and to gain insights into the reality of the process of making language minority education an integral part of the general education context from the classroom teachers' perspective.

2. The Study

2.1 Research Design

This study involved five schools located in Eastern and Western Massachusetts. Schools were chosen with the following criteria in mind: there was a bilingual program, the integration effort had to include academic subjects and had to be sustained throughout the academic school year. Moreover, bilingual teachers were selected on their previous experience in Transitional Bilingual Education programs. The twelve teachers (six grade level teachers, six bilingual teachers) participating were interviewed four times and were observed in their classrooms at least once a week over a period of two to four months. Together they represented five integration approaches: four were based on existing Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) programs and one on a Two-Way Bilingual program. TBE-based programs were in their first or second year of implementation; two-way programs were in their fifth year of implementation.

2.2 Different Integration Approaches

2.2.1 TBE-based approaches

There were two kinds of TBE-based approaches. One approach involved two self-contained classrooms (referred to as TBE Integration) and one approach used a team-teach approach where students were physically together in one classroom (referred to as TBE Inclusion). Either approach could be implemented with or without a second language component for language majority students.

The TBE integration setting involved a Haitian-Creole bilingual program. This model was implemented at the 1/2 grade level where integrated times were math (every day) and choice time (twice a week). Teachers had their own classroom and students would change classrooms for integrated times. The TBE Integration with a Second Language Component was located in the same school and involved the 3/4 combination grade level teacher (Jenny) and the 3/4 Haitian-English bilingual teacher (Myrline). Students were integrated for electives, geography, Haitian-Creole Language Arts (all three subjects once a week), and science (twice a week). On a more incidental basis, students were together for math and English language arts.

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The TBE Inclusion setting involved a fifth grade classroom with two teachers (one grade level teacher, Vivian, and one Russian-English bilingual teacher, Lana) in one classroom. Language majority and language minority students were instructed as one group for all subjects. Russian was used as a support language by Lana to explain content matter. The TBE Inclusion with Second Language Component was implemented at the Kindergarten and the third grade level. In the Kindergarten classroom, Kerry and Martha separated students for language arts, which occurred every day for 30 minutes (but students remained in the same room). For all other activities students were instructed together, with the foreign language component being informally introduced through exposure. In the third grade, the bilingual teacher (Dagmar) and the grade level teacher (Rachel) instructed students as one group for social studies/science (twice a week) as well as for the second language component (once a week). Instruction for other subjects (language arts, math) was separate, and the bilingual children were pulled out for English as a Second Language classes during Spanish language arts time. This model comes closest to the two-way bilingual approaches but lacks the academic component in the minority language.

2.2.2 Two-way bilingual approaches

The two Two-Way bilingual classes in the study were self-contained classrooms at different schools, one representing the 'English' side (Susan's classroom) and one representing the 'Spanish' side (Ofelia's classroom). Students were divided into two groups and were taught together for math and/or social studies and science. One integrated group would be instructed in Spanish and the other integrated group in English by the different teachers. Students switched classrooms every week, so that they had instruction in both languages. They were taught separately for Second Language instruction (English or Spanish as a Second language), native language instruction, and math.

3. Framing the context of integration

Integrated settings are complex realities where teachers have to make a variety of decisions around academic and social issues. From this study it became clear that the context of integration greatly influences the extent to which it can successfully meet academic, language, and social goals. Four factors were found to shape this context: (1) a school-wide approach, (2) a deliberate approach, (3) a bilingual mentality, and (4) an educational focus. Each will be discussed in detail below.

3.1 A Whole-School Approach

A whole-school approach means that all teachers at all grade levels work together to meet the educational needs for each individual student. This is a conditional factor for providing academic and linguistic continuity and a supportive school climate for learning. Tamara Lucas and her colleagues concluded in their study on effective high schools that

> ... this study strongly suggests that the diversity among students cannot simply be ignored. While the schools recognized the importance of integrating language-minority students with mainstream students and providing equally challenging instruction for all students, they did not try to minimize differences among mainstream and Latino students or among Latino students themselves. Approaches to schooling that value linguistic and cultural diversity and that promote cultural pluralism were welcomed and explored whenever possible....Students' languages and cultures were incorporated into school programs as part of the efforts to create a

> context in which all students felt valuable and capable of academic success (Lucas and others, 1990, p.338).

If integration is not implemented at the school level, it turns into an isolated practice within schools, often with an "experimental" status. This became clear in this study where the integration approaches took place either at the classroom level (TBE-based integration) or at the program level (Two-Way Bilingual program). This affected the status of the integration effort as well as students' academic and social integration. The effect of the lack of continuity on social integration was, for example, felt by the TBE-Inclusion teachers whose students came from an inclusion classroom where the students had not been treated as one group. Dagmar felt that

> This year the students had another teacher before us in second grade. I think, in the second grade, it's not the same. It's like those are my students, and those are your students and we're not a group and they come with that [to the third grade] (Dagmar Interview 05/09/95)

Other teachers felt the lack of support from colleagues and principals and knew that the integration efforts would not be continued beyond their grade level: the students who had built up academic and social relationships would be placed into different classrooms the next year. Even in the two-way programs, teachers pointed out that when students left the classroom they were confronted with an English-dominant environment. Ofelia commented

> And talking about status. I don't feel that they're equal because I still feel that more of it is English because of art, because of gym, because of music and in music they never learn Spanish songs. ... Mr. [name music teacher] doesn't feel comfortable and if they ever would learn music, Spanish music, maybe it was translated into English, something like that. So in that way I don't think it's really equal status. All the kids notice that. And also, the other teachers speaking English, even the aides, I've heard them speaking in English to the kids. ... You can hear both languages, but it's not like they're on equal foot (Ofelia Interview 06/15/96).

In these cases, the integration "project" becomes a separate entity within the school, sharing characteristics of traditionally separate language minority services. Only a school-wide policy can establish a school climate that is supportive of linguistic and cultural diversity and that provides continuity across grade levels.

3.2 A Deliberate Decision-Making Process

Integration is more than simply placing students physically in the same classroom. Physical integration will not automatically result in students collaborating together and supporting each other's learning process. It is up to the school and the individual teacher to create integrated environments that overcome the barriers to positive social and academic relationships.

3.2.1 Classroom Unity

The first task that teachers face is to make the two groups of students feel that they are part of one group, a team. Especially where the integrated settings involved self-contained classrooms, students had to adjust to a group of students with whom they only spent part of their time in the same room. In addition, teachers had to make one group of students feel comfortable in a less familiar classroom.

> I didn't realize how uncomfortable monolingual children were going into a Haitian classroom and that they did see it as it was strange, that those classrooms are filled

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with only one race and there is something different about that, that they saw that. And that they would be shy over there (Carry Interview 12/12/94).

The physical barrier can also undermine opportunities for the teachers to be in direct communication and for the two classrooms to be set up as one classroom. To compensate for the barriers, teachers in the TBE settings organized socially-oriented activities that included all students in different student configuratons, such as electives, a play.

The inclusion classrooms were at an advantage because of the physical integration of the students in one classroom. As Rachel argued,

> if the kids, say if they're in two separate rooms and they come together in the afternoon, I mean it takes a lot of time to get them together and I can't imagine that maybe just an afternoon of two hours is going to bring them together (Rachel Interview 06/01/95).

Especially in these settings, however, teachers stressed the need for activities specifically aimed at bringing the students together as one group. In Kindergarten, a significant amount of time was initially spent playing outside for students to get to know each other in a more socially oriented setting. Similarly, the third grade teachers took time out of their academic schedule to work on creating classroom unity.

> In the beginning we did a lot of activities together in the morning, instead of separating for academics, we would do a lot of language arts together, just activities at the beginning of school together (Rachel Interview 06/12/95).

In short, tor students to develop social relationships as well as positive relationships with different teacher models, it is necessary for teachers to actively engage them in activities that build a sense of belonging to one class.

3.2.2 Intergroup Collaboration

Student collaboration on academic tasks is one of the most common strategies for improving student relationships. Cooperative learning also positively affects academic and second language learning (Allport, 1954; Slavin, 1985; Kagan, 1986). Most teachers in this study recognized the benefits of collaboration and organized their classrooms accordingly. It was necessary for teachers to play an active role, however, in order to achieve their goals.

Social engineering

It appeared that, when given free choice, students tended to group themselves by language group in the integrated settings. In her two-way classroom, Ofelia would, for example, ask students to choose their own activity after they finished an assignment. Students would oftentimes choose a student from their own language group as a partner for these free times, even though they had previously been in heterogeneous groups.

> Four Hispanic girls are looking at a search book, "Where is Waldo". Connor looks on for a minute, and then moves to the rug area to join three other Anglo boys who are looking at an atlas. Four Hispanic girls go to the listening corner with headphones and books. Kathlyn, an Anglo girl, gets a picture book and sits by herself at a desk (Observation 04.12.95).

Integrated approaches with separate classrooms appear to be at a disadvantage in this regard, since students associated themselves also with the classroom where their language was used as medium of instruction. Given free choice of partners or groups, they would naturally gravitate to students from their "own" classroom, resulting in fewer interactions across language groups.

Teachers therefore intervened in order to encourage intergroup interactions. They provided an external structure for intergroup relations by making the partner and/or group choices themselves. This "forced" integration as they would pair a language minority with a language majority student. Obviously, this pairing regularly went against the students' preferred patterns of interaction. Although students rarely openly commented on their partner, they regularly indicated their unhappiness once they heard the teacher's choice. As Susan commented:

> And I still see the little "ooh I don't want to work with him". It may not be verbal anymore, because they know they get in deep trouble if they verbalize it, but there's still the reactions too "well, how come you put me working with three Hispanics", ... "Gee, I'm going to have to do all the work" or vice versa. So I still see that, I still feel that a lot (Susan Interview 05/30/95).

The forced nature of integration is not without consequences. First, students may build up a resistance against the integrated settings, especially when these settings are still considered exceptional settings rather than the norm. Carry explained that "I think they sometimes feel like we're forcing them apart and forcing them together". Second, the lack of willingness to work with a particular partner may hinder the collaborative process itself. Finally, it requires that teachers develop activities that demand student interactions. If such a formal structure is lacking, the likelihood is that students may decide to work separately instead or turn to peers from the same language background.

Facilitating the collaborative process

Even when teachers had predetermined partner or group composition, the collaborative process itself was far from easy and teachers needed to intervene to ensure collaboration and the inclusion of minority students.

Students (regardless of language background) frequently lacked the prerequisite collaborative skills. Teachers observed students doing the work for their partner, especially if the latter had difficulty accomplishing the task. Students also excluded individuals from group work and teachers often had to intervene, reminding students of the rules of team work. At other times, it was the stronger personality or the academically better prepared student who dominated the discussion. To remedy this situation, some teachers would work on teaching collaborative skills. In other classrooms, such explicit guidance and training was not heard or observed, however, and students frequently had no experience with the expectations for cooperative behavior in other than integrated classes. As a result, they were inadequately prepared to work together productively. Teachers agreed, however, that it was this ability and willingness to collaborate that made for successful cooperative groups. Once this condition is fulfilled, other pieces of the integration process could fall into place.

Besides the lack of preparedness of students, differences in students' background also influenced the extent and quality of student interactions. As Jenny commented,

> There's a range. ... There's still children that come with little schooling can't compete on a level playing field with children who have been in preschool since

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> they were two, with all kinds of resources and opportunities for parents to take them to the library. It's not a level thing (Jenny Interview 03/09/95).

The challenge for teachers was therefore to design activities that would give all students access to the curriculum materials. In most cases, they decided to build their instruction on experiences that they could provide in the classroom. The science projects in the TBE Integration classes, for instance, all involved experiments and other hands-on activities.

> Our first unit was on ponds, so they were sort of on equal footing where they were looking in, we had four tanks in each room with pond water they had collected, they would observe and see all these cyclopes and other little things running around, fish and they were on equal terms to draw and talk about it (Carry Interview 11/07/94).

By providing first-hand exposure the teachers felt they were able to avoid some of the inequality that resulted from differences in out-of-school experiences. Since all students had an opportunity to see the pond water or do experiments, they tried to make sure that students had a similar startingpoint. As activities became more literacy-dependent, academic differences became more apparent. Teachers often felt that language minority students were in a disadvantaged position in these integrated settings as they were mostly done in English.

> But when push comes to shove in the water unit, everything is written in English and they were dependent on my kids to read that to them. All this pens and paper stuff wasn't good. I mean, there was no way you could do that without just setting them up to be the inferior kids (Carry Interview 11/07/94).

Similarly, Myrline saw her bilingual students regularly delegating literacy-related activities to the English-speaking students, such as the writing down the findings of an experiment. Varonis and Gass (1984), looking at second language learning settings, comment that the "inequality in the status of the participants (with regard to the language medium) actually discourages negotiation because it amplifies rather than masks the differences between them" (Varonis and Gass, 1984, p.86). This concern was reflected in the small group settings, where group dynamics would often take over assigned roles, unless the teacher intervened. The result was that minority students were not always included in the discussion (generally conducted in English), as the following example illustrates.

> At Fara's table, Fara does not know what to write. Jack explains that she has to write which solution is the best. Fara points to the second line on her paper. Jack points to the bottom part of the paper. Explains that she should write two solutions. Fara shakes her head and says she doesn't understand. Matthias starts an explanation to her. Jack interrupts, saying: "Matthias, she has no idea. You were the one who did it". The two boys go on talking about something else. Fara does not write anything down and and has a lost look on her face (Observation 12.12.94).

This example illustrates how Fara gets excluded from the group process and ends up not participating in the activity. Such status issues occurred also in partner work, where the English-speaking student tended to be the student leading the discussion and directing the language minority student in what to do.

In conclusion, teachers need to ensure that integrated classrooms are settings where both groups of students have something to offer to the learning situation. Without the teacher's intervention and carefully designed two-way tasks, status differences between students are reinforced in integrated settings and opportunities for collaboration will not necessarily stimulate the kind of meaningful interactions required for second language and academic learning.

3.2.3 Second language learning opportunities

Integrated classrooms have to create a learning environment provides exposure (comprehensible input, Krashen, 1982), active engagement in meaningful interaction (negotiation of meaning, Long, 1983), and opportunities for accurate language output (negotiation of output, Swain, 1985). These conditions can be met with native speakers as natural native peer and adult language models in an integrated setting (Wong Fillmore, 1991). Moreover, negotiation can be further improved when "two-way" tasks are used in which "the native speaker and the non-native speaker each start out a conversation with information the other needs in order for the pair to complete some task successfully" (Long and Porter, 1985, p.214). These conditions hold true for second language learning for both groups of students.

Learning the majority language

The most deliberate and systematic second learning opportunities for minority students were created in the Two-Way Bilingual programs. Students were generally given several opportunities to be exposed to and practice the second language orally and in written form. The following is a typical example from Susan's class.

> The students sit on the floor in a group in front of Susan who sits on a little chair. Susan asks them where insects live. She suggest that they can guess by looking at the pictures. She holds up a book which shows different living places, such as rocks, water. She asks them whether they've ever seen insect eggs. Yilmaida says that she has. Susan asks what kind she has seen. Yilmaida says that she has seen spider eggs. Susan asks the others students whether they have seen spider eggs. She then starts reading from the book. They start discussing different places until Susan asks whether they can come up with some ways that insects move. Miguel calls out "grasshopper".
> Susan: What does a grasshopper do?
> Miguel: move.
> Susan: How does it move?
> Miguel: it hops (Observation 05.15.95).

Through her questions Susan involves the students and give them opportunities to show what they have learned. She pushes Miguel for whom English is his second language to be precise in his choice of vocabulary describing the movement of the grasshopper. In addition, she provides second language input by reading the book which has clear pictures to support the story. Notice, however, that teacher-student interactions form the basis for the second learning process.

Another pattern took place in the TBE Integration classrooms where peer interactions constituted the basis for second language learning with fewer teacher-student interactions. Teachers relied on the small group work to provide second language learning opportunities, while implementing a "laissez faire" policy: they assumed adequate peer interactions to occur, once heterogeneous groups had been established. While recognizing the language problem, the teachers assumed that "children would absorb the new language by mere exposure to it " (Castellanos, 1985, p.55). Such a laissez-faire policy makes two important assumptions, which proved to be incorrect in these integrated settings.

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First, it assumes that all students will participate in a particular activity. The difficulties with collaboration have already been pointed out before: oftentimes interactions did not take place and/or left minority students out. Teachers did not counter this situation by using tasks that required two-way interactions among students. This meant that access to the second language was frequently left to the students' individual characteristics (personality, motivation). The absence of two-way tasks also resulted in one-way conversations, flowing from the majority student to the minority student. As a result, many activities resulted in exposure to the second language, but with few opportunities to practice.

A second assumption is that, if interactions take place, they will occur across language groups. Observations during integrated times indicate that a different pattern tends to occur, especially when the activities were not structured for interaction. Interactions tended either to be absent (e.g. students playing quietly together) or students grouped themselves by language group and would use their native language, thus undermining the second language goals.

The situation changed when the teacher herself worked with the students. From observations it became clear that teachers interventions sparked more interactions and were able to create better opportunities for language development.

Learning the minority language

The second language component for language majority students was organized differently. Here too, peer interactions were considered important: language minority students have the opportunity to teach their language and language majority students can interact with native language models. Jenny, for example, asked one of the Haitian students to be the language role model for the Anglo students learning Creole.

> Stevenson, who came in and taught with me. So kids heard his model of Creole and not just mine. And we weren't teaching anything that I couldn't have taught in terms of what I knew in terms of vocabulary but I wanted them to hear a native speaker as a model as opposed to an English-first model. And he's delighted to do that (Jenny Interview 03/09/95).

The organization of the second language component for majority students did not necessarily make use of this potential, however, because students were often separated for second language instruction. In the Two-Way Bilingual programs, the Anglo students had Spanish as a Second Language, while Hispanic students received English as a Second Language classes. Interactions in the minority language during science or social studies were also limited because students tended to use English rather than Spanish for discussions. In the TBE Inclusion third grade, the second language component was introduced as a subject during morning time. Although all students stayed together, the teachers divided the class by their turn-giving behaviors: Dagmar would give turns to the English-speaking students to practice Spanish and Rachel would elicit responses primarily from the Spanish-speaking students during her English morning time.

By dividing the goals for each language group, the minority language component relied on teacher-student or on interactions among non-native speakers. Language minority students were therefore not often placed in a teaching role (unlike the speakers of the majority language in predominantly English settings). In order to meet the potential for second language learning teachers need to organize their activities to include peer as well as adult models.

3.3 A Bilingual/Bicultural Mentality

In each integrated setting the role and usage of the two languages have to be negotiated. The context of integration will greatly influence this negotiation process and the role and status assigned to each language in the curriculum and for instruction. A bilingual mentality requires that explicit attention is paid to balancing the two languages for instruction and in the curriculum.

3.3.1 Language Status and Language Use

The two-way bilingual classrooms were the only classrooms that functioned with bilingualism as a goal for all students. The language negotiation process resulted in a program policy in which the two languages were attributed equal status and usage by the teachers: the languages were strictly divided between the two classrooms, they were both taught as a subject and were used as medium of instruction for teaching subject matter. The picture that emerged in the TBE-based settings was different. In these settings the negotiation process took place within the context of a transitional mentality that stresses the need to mainstream students, the use of English, and that treats the minority language as a temporary support language. These pressures influenced the bilingual teacher's language choices during integrated times.

The observations indicated that the latter integrated settings favored English as the dominant language. First, English was used as the base language for instruction with the minority language being used for the translation of vocabulary items and/or explanations. Second, teachers consistently translated from English to the minority language and not vice versa, reinforcing the higher status of English. Without intervention, teachers and students resort to the unmarked language, i.e. English (Edelsky, 1991). Third, translations in the minority language were often directed at individual students, or teachers provided instructions in the minority language in small group discussions. In contrast to English, the minority language was therefore seldom publicly used as a language of learning and instruction. Importantly, the teachers did not question these patterns or considered alternative options of bilingual instruction: the minority language could have been more systematically included by using it to expand on the instruction given in English (Brisk, 1991).

The transitional mentality prevented teachers from considering alternative instructional approaches that fully included the minority language. Unlike the two-way bilingual settings, the balance between the two languages was not made the basis for decision-making, which resulted in an unequal status of and access to the minority language.

3.3.2 The minority language component

The most formal and explicit way of including the minority language into the integration process is by making it a subject of the curriculum. Teachers felt that learning the minority language by language majority students was a crucial way to balance the languages as well as providing more equal student status. This may happen in a number of ways.

First, it reverses the process of second language learning from a one-way to a two-way process. Instead of only the minority students learning a second language, language majority students go through the process of acquiring another language as well. This experience, in turn, can make language majority students more understanding and patient with their peers who are still learning English. Teachers commented particularly on this potential for reversing the roles traditionally allocated to language minority and language majority students in most other situations.

> We'd even do things all in Spanish, where the Anglo kids would need the help. So the Spanish kids feel important because they have to help the Anglo kids, it's not

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> always the Anglo kid helping the Spanish kid; it works both ways (Rachel Interview 05/18/95).

Second, it gives the message that the minority language is a language worth learning, thus increasing its status. Third, by making it the object of learning, the minority language becomes more accessible to language majority students. The absence of experiences with multilingual environments oftentimes makes language majority students feel uncomfortable in situations where more than one language is being spoken. Juliana felt that language majority students "used to be scared being in a group where most people were speaking Creole. People used to think 'they must be talking about me'". Experiences with learning the minority language helped language majority students be more comfortable in multilingual environments. Finally, learning another language in itself is an enriching goal for majority students and will enhance their schooling experience.

The foreign language component therefore played an important role in securing a sense of equal status of the two languages in the integration approaches.

3.3.3. The role of biliterate minority students

The effectiveness of the integrating the two languages for instruction depended on the presence of biliterate minority students. First, student translation was an important strategy for grade level teachers to ensure better access to their instruction. Jenny would habitually ask the bilingual students to provide a translation for key phrases, or questions. The following is a typical example:

> At the black board Jenny writes down 'I know the tuning fork vibrates because....'. She calls Stevenson and asks him to translate the sentence in Creole for her. He gives her the translation. ... (Observation 11.28.94).

Asking students to translate is not a new phenomenon. Many a grade level teacher has relied on other bilingual students to translate for newly arrived students, but being a translator is not necessarily a desired job. Carry noted that "You couldn't get people to translate in the whole group ... They were shy about it and everything". When biliterate students were asked to translate, they would initially decline or defer the task to another bilingual student. With intervention, however, the status of translator can be positively changed. One of Carry and Juliana's student teachers raised the importance of bilingual students by using translator buttons.

> She made these translator buttons for Haitian children who spoke enough English that they could really translate what was being said into Creole for other kids. And ...she discussed this whole idea of 'you could speak two languages, you have this very important job'. They then took that job on and felt very proud of it. And they spoke Creole more after that. It was a really good thing (Carry Interview 12/12/94).

The introduction of translator buttons played a crucial role in legitimizing the role of translator and translation. As Juliana commented "if you made it public that they were the person who were supposed to help translate, that seemed to help". The translator buttons also changed the degree to which minority student felt comfortable using their own language in the grade level classroom.

Biliterate students were not only an important source of information for teachers. They also performed a crucial role for their peers, functioning as bilingual role models and facilitating group work.

> I think it helps a lot. I think it's important because when you're doing any activity, there's a child there to validate that two languages is a positive thing, and is role modelling that you can deal with both effectively. When you just have an adult telling you that, it's not the same thing (Carry Interview 05/12/95).

Previously mainstreamed students often were the ones who fulfilled the role of bridge makers. The inclusion of minority language for the purpose of academic learning gave these students a chance to continue developing and using their language in the grade level classroom. Another example was Jeff, who had always been in grade level classrooms but was exposed to Haitian-Creole at home. Initially insecure about his role, he increasingly felt more comfortable translating as his own skills in Creole increased. Later in the school year, Jenny said about him,

> Jeff is the lead. Jeff, you have to understand, did not speak Creole last year at all. He just didn't have enough. He's just by leaps and bounds picking it up at home, and at school (Jenny Interview 12/12/94).

The integrated class gave Jeff an opportunity to use his native language as he has to explain academic content to his peers. Similar effects were found for mainstreamed students who are thus allowed to maintain their native language in integrated classes. Carry observed how quiet one of the mainstreamed students was in her class until they started the integration project.

> You would probably mark the child as a shy, quiet personality. And then when we started to do integration it was amazing how much the child bloomed. Because the child could speak his own language. And so suddenly I was like 'Wow!' A whole different side. Yak yak yakking away! And then you realize some of the deprivation the kid's been going through being in a monolingual classroom. ... So it wasn't until the integration where there were more Haitian kids in here that he felt the comfort level to be able to speak Creole in this room (Carry Interview 12/12/94).

In traditional language minority programs, mainstreamed students are asked to give up previous bilingual experiences and their native language. By involving biliterate students. integrated settings give these students an opportunity to maintain their language and feel less threatened in an all-English environment (Brisk, 1991).

3.4 An Educational Focus

A unique characteristic of integrated settings is that academic goals (access to subject matter), language goals (especially second language learning), and social goals (developing positive student relationships) are simultaneously aimed at for a heterogeneous group of students: language majority students who have little or no knowledge of the minority language (two-way and TBE-integration approaches, respectively) and language minority students who have varying degrees of proficiency in the majority language. Yet, teachers need to provide all students with access to a quality curriculum.

This means that teachers, first of all, need to set clear goals. The absence of clear language goals, for example, influenced the effectiveness of the TBE-based integrated settings in creating second language learning opportunities. Adopting a "laissez faire" policy undermined the extent and quality of native/non-native speaker interactions and the way teachers adapted their instruction to second language learners. In the two-way bilingual program, on the other hand, second language goals were made explicit and teachers more consciously adapted their classroom accordingly. Teachers in neither setting effectively used all the language resources available, however: interactions either occurred with peers or with adults, but only arbitrarily with both types

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of language models. Explicit language goals will better recognize the strengths and weaknesses of teacher-student and student-student interactions and use the available language resources accordingly.

Second, teachers need to balance the academic, language, and social goals. This was one of the main challenges faced by the teachers in this study. The dilemma between the three goals stems from the fact that they may not require the same classroom organization. Engaging students in challenging content matter is most effectively done in the student's stronger language. The academic goal therefore requires opportunities for students to be with students with whom they can discuss academic subject matter in their native language. This would argue for grouping students by language group instead of mixing students from different language groups. In contrast, the second and social language goals ask for opportunities for interactions across language groups. The tension between these three goals needs to be resolved in order to avoid a classroom organization that favors one goal over another (Rich, 1993).

The two-way bilingual programs were most aware of creating supportive environments for meeting academic and language goals for their students. They adapted their instruction using second language teaching strategies to make the curriculum more accessible, while providing students with a meaningful context for second language learning. Susan defined her goals as follows:

> So in the integrated group, I'm teaching content and teaching vocabulary and giving them practice in reading and writing all through the content area. Essentially, my aim in that time is to take them from where they are, the second language speakers, take them from where they are, make sure they get the content and pull them along in the language, or push them along or follow them along, whatever the case may be (Susan Interview 05/15/95).

Little was done, however, to meet other social goals: few activities were organized to bring the students together as one class and teachers felt a lack of cohesiveness between the language majority and the language minority group, which undermined the actual interactions among students. In contrast, in the TBE-based settings, the main emphasis was on the social dimension of integration and teachers organized their classrooms around activities that were more socially in nature and that included all students, such as choice time, electives, or special projects (e.g. a play). Teachers also made sure that language minority students were consistently paired with language majority students to encourage intergroup communication.

Mixed groupings do not necessarily create optimal opportunities for students to access the curriculum content through his/her stronger language. Language minority students had a chance to use their native language only when they had a numerical majority, or when they had easy access to each other in second language setting, as was the case for two Haitian boys in the following example:

> Stephane has a puzzled look on his face throughout the test. He confers with Jean and Stevenson on what point five is. Stevenson translates it into Creole, holding up five fingers. Stephane recognizes this and says in Creole that it's a half. The teacher turns around and says "exactly!". Stephane then asks Stevenson something about the .25 in Creole (Observation 11.28.94).

In this example, Stephane and Stevenson are given an opportunity to figure out together in their most comfortable language what the math test requires.

The emphasis on second language and social goals made teachers reluctant to group students with peers from the same language group. Even in the bilingual classrooms where instruction could be done bilingually to ensure better access to the curriculum (Milk, 1990; Tikunoff and Vasquez-Faria, 1982), English was the dominant language of instruction. This resulted in a lack of rich academic instruction and opportunities to discuss content matter in the minority language. This happened in the Spanish side of the two-way bilingual programs as well, where interactions with language majority students was in the majority student's native language, English and was rarely done in Spanish (see also Edelsky, 1991).

Teachers need to be aware of their academic, language, and social goals and their implications for classroom organization. This means flexible grouping strategies that take the students' individual needs as the pedagogical basis for grouping and instruction: for continuous cognitive development it may be necessary to group a student with language minority peers, while for the purpose of social interaction and opportunities for second language learning, it may be more effective to pair him/her with language majority students (see also Brisk, 1991).

4. Integrated Language Minority Education

An integrated school has the following characteristics: it takes bilingual mentality as its startingpoint and arranges instruction and the school environment accordingly; it bases its school policy on the educational (and not only linguistic) needs of the individual student; it has high academic expectations (subject matter and language), while ensuring successful social integration. Teachers are expected to collaborate towards common goals that have been established for all students and that reflect high expectations. Language minority students have the opportunity to develop both languages for academic and social purposes, whereas language majority students are exposed to or more formally develop competency in the minority language. Clear goals, flexible grouping, collaborative learning, and quality instruction in the first and the second language are key elements in the integrated classrooms.

There are a number of prerequisites to implement an integrated approach. These include, but are not limited to: flexible organization at the school level, quality monolingual and bilingual teachers, administrators, and staff who have all been trained in issues of bilingualism, first and second language development and who are committed to the school's philosophy. Schools will have to consider alternative ways of assessment and of grouping students for instruction. The need for schools to establish an independent policy that fits their school also requires state laws and regulations to change. Instead of requiring the implementation of static program models that do not take the needs of the school and the community into account, laws and regulations should formulate the principles and goals that should guide school practice. This flexibility cannot be achieved at the cost of accountability: schools have to show that they educate language minority students effectively as measured by the full range of their academic and linguistic (in both languages) achievement and their successful acculturation into the school and the community.

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